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PRICE 2 CENTS.

MAY-DAY.

Address Delivered by J. Mahlon Barnes.

Puritan Hall, Boston, April 30, '99.

Comrades and Citizens, Ladies and Gentlemen of Boston:—I greet you and congratulate you upon the fact that this is the largest audience ever assembled in your city under the auspices of the Socialist Labor Party to celebrate the International May Day. Know ye, comrades, that this meeting is but a link joined to thousands of others in cities, hamlets, villages and towns, making a chain that reaches around the world, bringing the proletariat into union of hope, of aspiration and of common noble purpose: the abolition of the System of Capitalism.

Though but ten brief years have passed since the establishment of this feast by the International Congress of the workers in Paris, we point with pride and satisfaction to the fact that a militant army, larger than any crusade, infinitely larger in the given period of formation than any world movement ever witnessed. To-night its millions march under the universal banner of the Socialist Labor Party. Fullest yet would be our gatherings unless we pause and take from the experience of the past some guide for our onward march of the morrow. Therefore we ask your attention for the consideration of some of the struggles or efforts on the part of the workers in the past.

The trades unions, or craft associations, opposing infant force against infant capitalism, first demand our attention. To grant them credit due, let us remember that, with infant capitalism, larger numbers of small bosses were engaged in the same business in a given locality: Smith, Jones and Brown, as shoe manufacturers, by concert of effort among the workers easily could be, and frequently were, played once against the other to the benefit of the workers. Smith's men would strike; Jones and Brown would employ them, and steal Smith's trade. But with the better organization of capital and higher concentration of industry, the turning point came, and this by-play of capitalists against capitalists passed away, and shall be known no more forever. When Smith, Jones and Brown clasp hands (commercially) across the city, across the State, from nation-border to nation-border, and then around the world, the blind alone would fail to see a changed condition, demanding a new policy on the part of the class of the proletariat. No further in illustration need we go but point out the trend of capitalism in three months of the year, 1890: Industrial combinations have been formed, capitalized at double the value of all those established during the whole year of 1898. Trade unions existing now must be judged by their policies and tactics. By their works ye shall know them. They are potent or impotent, useful or useless, beneficial or mischievous as revealed by the touchstone of their purposes and accomplishments. Slogans or mottoes of craft organizations in the youthful days of this century are interesting.

First, masons:—"Fair profit to the boss; fair treatment to the men."

Second, plasterers:—"The welfare of the master, the interest of his men."

Third, wheel-rights:—"Prosperity of the employer and employee."

Fourth, Liverpool cigarmakers, 1835—"Fidelity to employers, and unity among men."

"'Tis strange, 'tis passing strange, the purposes here set forth in the light of the great world-wide revolutionary movement, now on to the death of exploitation, industrial tyranny and capitalism."

But, say you, these are antiquated mottoes of trade unions. Well, then, by all means, let us have some up-to-date, from J. B. Lennon, Treasurer of the "great A. F. of L.," and endorsed by Frank K. Foster, representing the tacticians of Boston:

"The interests of employers and employees are identical." (Sic)

Again, the slogan of every pure and simple trade union to-day is: "A fair day's work for a fair day's pay."

I want to make a suggestion of a motto or two to the pure and simple leaders; and I hope they will be approved of, for I opine they would be more direct, to the purpose, quite as logical, and with more rhythm; so that, if used as a battle cry, they would sound better in chorus, to wit: "A little foolishness for some little fools"; or "A little moonshine for some little moonkeys."

We must remember, whatever of solidarity there appears in trade unions to-day is due entirely to the influence of Socialism; for craft organizations remained local craft organizations with all their narrow-mindedness, jealousies, craft prejudices and suspicion of the rest of the world of Labor until the flash-light of the economics of Karl Marx made us feel the common pulse-throb, by his: "WORKMEN OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!"

Assembled here to-night, we enjoy the high privilege of citizenship. How is it that we are so singularly blessed against all the races and generations, during all the ages past? Why do we vote? Let us answer briefly: "A concession from capitalism for the benefit of capitalism, with the rising industrial power of capitalism."

Capitalism was first confronted by the opposition of political power, yet in the hands of the feudal barons, or



the landed aristocracy. Not then, as now, was the elector's choice recorded in secret by means of the paper ballot; but voice-vote prevailed: "James announced his vote for Jordan at the hustings," and it was so publicly recorded. Under these conditions, meek capitalism, confronted by the necessity of controlling political power for its class, began to say the prettiest things imaginable about "Brotherly Love," and "Equality before the Law," and "Equal Responsibilities in Citizenship for the Working Class." The Bible was brought forth to assist their claim; and every tender chord was touched. Capitalism sat greedy-eyed behind its false pretence, its profession of philanthropy and brotherly love. Knowing full well that when their workers would have a vote, the workers would vote for their employer or his representative, or would not be given work. Thereby the capitalist, employing ten newly made voters, counted for eleven votes; and the capitalist employing one hundred men counted one hundred and one votes—all in favor of the capitalist's political supremacy, and against the political power and supremacy of the landed aristocracy. Even as by chattel slaves in the South, was the owner's vote increased in like manner. The wage slave made political power for his master. Have we not well paid the debt to capitalism for our franchise? We have enthroned the capitalists in power. From the White House down to the Constable in your back-lane, by our votes they handle the dynamite cannon, the Gatling gun, the thug's repeating-rifle and the policeman's club!

Why we vote we have seen; revealed also is the horrible fact that we vote for murderous blood-stained capitalism now with the secret ballot. The all-important question is, Why do we not vote as workmen for our class? Who tells you not to bother your little head about politics? Who charges you with being union-wreckers? If you speak of united political action by the working class, who charges you to leave political power in the hands of your masters? Who forbids you discuss politics in your trades unions? The Labor Leader, the Fakir, the Traitor! They, drawing salaries from the workers, receive political preferment and place from your enemy, the capitalist. Honest and true we know are many thousands of our rank and file in trades unions. Against these we raise no voice of condemnation, but we do on the fakir and traitor, on whose brow the mark of Cain appears more plainly every day wherever he appears. If there be no Socialist to-day to scourge him, there will be one to-morrow, and three the next day to proclaim his villainy. Under such leadership the pure and simple unions go into back-door politics, to wit, with bowed head and cringing limb: "Please, Mr. Political Boss, be kind and do something for us, your voting cattle." Results: An eight-hour law is passed by Congress during General Grant's second term, more than twenty-five years ago, and yet it is not enforced! Why? Because the Government was halted by reason of a misplaced comma in the printed bill, and the Government, therefore, CANNOT FULLY COMPREHEND THE PURPOSE OF THE ACT!

Just think, a misplaced comma, the slip of some printer's devil, or some devil of an eight-hour law for twenty-five years, while capitalist measures outraging every sense of reason on their very faces, crucifying grammar, with or without any punctuation marks are strictly enforced, to the greater glory of great capitalism!

Ten years of time and labor and much money was expended by the miners of Indiana to get a Check-Weigh law. It took the Supreme Court ten minutes to declare it unconstitutional!

Fourteen years the cigarmakers of the country labored to get a law in New York State to abolish tenement house work. In six months after its enactment, upon the first trial of the law, the Supreme Court informed the cigarmakers that those fourteen years were filled with love's labor lost.

In Pennsylvania, ten years ago, a law was passed abolishing company or pluck-me-stores; so flagrant did their operations become that, in 1897, a bill was presented to Governor Hastings, Republican, for the purpose of taxing them; he promptly vetoed it on the ground that there was a law upon the statutes expressly forbidding the existence of such institutions within the confines of the State of Pennsylvania. Governor Pattison, Democrat, and Governor Hastings, by the non-enforcement of this law, have proved their hostile attitude towards labor, have from the time of taking the oath of office perjured themselves with every breath they drew. Yet we find labor skates in the mine workers' and steel workers' and printers' unions giving both of them a certificate of good character, and on the stump proclaiming how each of these Governors loves labor—jobs—jobs—are by this gentry required, whether from the workers or the capitalists!

Do you remember the Industrial Commission bill, prayed for by all trades-union-Democrat-and-Republican fakirs: a bill properly characterized by THE PEOPLE as the "Fakirs' Pension bill"? At the last A. F. of L. convention their chagrin was displayed, and because there were not enough pensions or places granted to the fakirs, a resolution was passed deploring the fact that President McKinley did not see fit to appoint a larger number of real, true blue honest labor representatives on that Commission.

The City Council ordinance of Syracuse, N. Y., for the employment of union labor only, became inoperative. Last week, Denver's Eight-hour law was knocked unconstitutional; back-door politics is the real thing—is it?

These out-workings, coupled with a fact I hope you will bear in mind, that TO-DAY THE PRODUCER RECEIVES AS WAGES A SMALLER PROPORTION OF THE VALUE HE CREATES THAN EVER BEFORE IN THE HISTORY OF MANKIND, characterize the pure and simple trade union movement under fakir leadership as a FLIGHT rather than a FIGHT before the onslaught of economically and politically entrenched capitalism.

Remember also that grade, under capitalist competition, gravitates to the source of cheapest supply. Trade unions with their "fair day's wage" notwithstanding, that explains why New England textile mills go South, and why so many erstwhile Boston cigarmakers are sojourning in Philadelphia, and why many others of that craft, heretofore well paid in other localities, are now separated from home ties and their families, and disporting themselves in the cheapest of

cheap Pennsylvania diets designated by us as "The Klondike."

On a delicate subject now I desire to be frank with you. While caring nothing particularly for the unenviable position I am placed in, I am really sorry that such a large number of good people as compose this large audience should find themselves by reason of my presence under the ban of the "Executive Board of the Cigarmakers' Union No. 97 of Boston." They sent me a registered letter to Philadelphia, hoping thereby, I presume, to keep me away from, filling this engagement. Let me tell you, I have received other letters before for the purpose of keeping silent on this great class struggle. Some of them from smarter people, who, by failing to sign their names, concealed the hand that upheld capitalism. I take it however THAT THE HEAD GEAR AMOUNTS TO NOTHING, THE STAMP OF THE HOOF AND THE ROAR OF THE CAPITALIST DEVIL IS ABOUT THE SAME THE WORLD ROUND. This is the letter:

"Boston, Mass., April 27, 1899.

"J. Mahlon Barnes, Esq.
"Dear Sir:—At a regular meeting of the Executive Board of the Cigarmakers' Union No. 97 I was directed to inform you that the tickets for your lecture in the City of Boston bear a spurious or imitation label of the Allied Printing Trades' label.

"Fraternally,

"HENRY ABRAHAM, Sec'y.

A "spurious label"! Who set themselves up to judge it spurious? "Imitation of Allied Printing Trades"? NO. I see distinctly the ARM AND HAMMER on this label, that stands for the uncompromising revolutionary movement of the Socialist Labor Party, for the complete overthrow of capitalism. I judge it not "spurious." You need not hunt around for Barnes' position, you will find him in the economic and political movement represented by this ARM AND HAMMER, that strikes capitalism and its henchmen everywhere. Sam Gompers might call it spurious, but I would call him TRAITOR! No imitation, for if this symbol were on the Allied Printing Trades' label, they might be charged with fighting capitalism, and it would be idle to say so. Let us see whom this Executive Board are trying to "protect."

In 1894, when that great wave of sentiment over-spread the organized workers' realm and a majority of the rank and file favored by vote "Plunk ten," the collective ownership and control of the means of production and distribution (out of which they were robbed by Iscariot leaders), the great Typographical Union only wanted the land; and since then, by reason of the machines, Typographical Union No. 6 of New York, known as "Big Six," took the matter literally and solved the labor question by sending its unemployed artist members to a farm on Long Island to grow sweet pickles and cross-eyed potatoes. "Big Six" helped to fight capitalism in an other manner not to be overlooked while touching this class struggle. Whitelaw Reid, for years in season and out of season, with boast and brag, made merry war upon the printers' union. But in time it came to pass that he was to stand before his countrymen as a candidate for Vice-President. Now was the printers' chance. Great preparation was made. Slugs of discontent would

rain upon such a candidate; old rules were brightened up and every printer had a gleaming dagger in his boot and one in each eye. When Mr. Reid whistled, then sang a little tune ("I love your union, boys")—a conference—and then so far as "Big Six" cared, we hadn't as fine a labor candidate for years! Again these pure and simple organizations, as before mentioned, stand for "fair day's work," for "a fair day's pay," which correctly interpreted means: "You may rob us, Mr. Capitalist, but rob us in decency, and according to our rules; and if you use this label, you may not only rob us, but we will try and get you as many more to rob as we can and will even fight those Socialist workmen; who deny you the right to rob?" Some of the phrases we have touched upon to-night we hope will be pondered over and bring us to a clearer view of our duty, and a stronger purpose for its performance.

There are but two positions that can be occupied: one on the capitalist side, the other on the Socialist side. We earnestly invite those not yet numbered with the Socialist to enroll at once. Into no infant movement ask you to enlist; but for strength of numbers; firmness of purpose; clearness of issue; and constant world-wide growth it is unequalled and unrivaled. Two million votes in Germany; one million seven hundred thousand in France; hundreds of thousands in Belgium and Austria; its tens of thousands in America and elsewhere, tell of the legions coming and coming fast to the point of victory, and position of conquerors. From the great North land where from the watch towers the midnight sun is seen, from the most southern South American Republic, from old Japan and late arriving Puerto Rico, the song of the Sons of Toil echo and reverberate: "Man shall be free." And by this mighty international chorus, and by the sacrifice and struggles of its true sons everywhere, we know that the earth and the fullness thereof shall belong to, and be enjoyed in happiness and peace, by those who alone produce it all.

The S. L. P. vote in Roanoke, Va., at the municipal elections just held is: Greenwood, for Treasurer, head of the ticket, 110 votes; this is 32 votes more than at the last election.

For Council, Welch, 1st Ward, received 30 votes; Boon, 2d Ward, 15; Tate, 3d Ward, 39; and Goodman, 4th Ward, 49.

A Jokester sends us this under the head of "Meditations by William Rockefeller":

"The Socialist Labor Party is growing slow, but sure. It is moving like a high stone wall, driving before it the rats and driving them into the sea."

Section Stockton, Cal., participated in the local election held there on May 9, and polled an average of 220 votes out of a total of 3,400. This was an increase of sixty per cent. in six months.

Remit by money-order, registered letter, check or, when the amount is small, by two or one-cent stamps. Do not send cash in ordinary letters! Why run any risks?

PENNA.'S VOICE.

The S. L. P. State Convention's Important Acts.

Ticket and Resolutions.

THE TICKET:

For State Treasurer:
SAMUEL CLARK.

For Judge of Supreme Court:
DONALD L. MUNRO.

For Judge of Superior Court:
VAL REMMEL.

ALTOONA, Pa., May 28.—The S. L. P. State Convention of Pennsylvania met yesterday at Carpenter's Hall and adjourned to-day, after three enthusiastic sessions.

There were present 35 delegates, representing 27 Sections and Branches in the State, several of which were organized through the recent S. T. & L. A. agitation.

John Root, of Pittsburg, was temporary Chairman. The convention went into permanent organization with H. C. Parker as Chairman, and Val Remmel Secretary.

Besides nominating the ticket above given, the convention adopted the following resolutions on Party tactics, principles and discipline:

ON THE S. T. & L. A.

WHEREAS, It has been demonstrated by the stirring events that have transpired on the industrial field during the past year that the organization known as the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance is of the greatest assistance to the Socialist Labor Party in the propagation of militant, scientific Socialism; and

WHEREAS, It has also been demonstrated that the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance is the only bona fide labor organization that can secure any benefits for the workers under the Capitalist System, whilst opening to them the pathway to their emancipation from wage slavery; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Socialist Labor Party of Pennsylvania, in Convention assembled this 27th day of May, 1899, do re-indorse the wisdom and action of the Socialist Labor Party's National Convention of 1896 in its endorsement of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Socialist Labor Party of Pennsylvania use its utmost endeavors to organize the workers of this State under the banner of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance.

ON CONTROVERSY RAISED BY "VOLKSZEITUNG."

WHEREAS, The Socialist Labor Party is at the present time hampered in its most effective work in the propagation of class-conscious Socialism and the economic organization of the workers in the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance by the opposition tactics of one H. Stahl, a member of the National Executive Committee; and

WHEREAS, Said Stahl has taken, in conjunction with the "New Yorker Volkszeitung," an unscientific stand on the tax question, thereby confusing, clouding and compromising the Socialist Movement of America; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the State Convention of the Socialist Labor Party of Pennsylvania do, on this 27th day of May, condemn the attitude and action of said H. Stahl, and recommend his removal from the National Executive Committee as soon as possible, by the usual method.

ON PARTY ORGANS.

RESOLVED, That this Convention again, and with emphasis and greatest pleasure, pronounces our unqualified approval of the unwavering course in the tactics and policy of our Party's national organs, THE PEOPLE and the "Vorwaerts."

VAL REMMEL, Secretary.

ROANOKE.

ROANOKE, Va., May 23.—We are in the midst of a municipal campaign in which we have a full ticket, and are spreading tons of literature.

Now, then, Comrades Welch, Peters, Tate and Goodman are members of the Central Trade and Labor Council as delegates from their respective unions. At the meetings of this body we endeavored by every fair means and open arguments to draw the members out in a friendly discussion of municipal affairs. But they would have none of it (politics not allowed). Nevertheless, by the dead weight of the majority they decided to put a so-called "labor ticket" in the field. Its purpose is to weaken our vote, on the one hand, and to divide the workers on the other, in order that the regular Democratic nominees may slip in. My comrades and I were present in the G. T. & L. C. when their nominee Mayo accepted their nomination and took the floor to ask for instructions, saying in substance this: "Gentlemen, I rise to ask for information in regard to my position in this campaign. I am not a politician, know nothing about politics, but ask what I stand for, what policy, what principle, under what obligations am I to this body; what promises am I to make, am I free, or am I bound by any rules or regulations." The Chair-

(Continued on page 2.)

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888 (Presidential) . . . 2,068
In 1890 . . . 13,331
In 1892 (Presidential) . . . 21,157
In 1894 . . . 33,133
In 1896 (Presidential) . . . 36,564
In 1898 . . . 82,204

Once we thought all human sorrows
Were predestined to endure;
That, as man has never made them,
Men were impotent to cure;
That the few were born superior,
Though the many might rebel;—
Those to sit at Nature's table,
Those to pick the crumbs that fell;
Those to live upon the fatness,
Those the starvelings, lank and wan.
Old opinions! Rags and tatters!
Get you gone! Get you gone!

MACKEY.

THE VOICE OF MISSOURI'S STATE COMMITTEE.

ST. LOUIS, Mo., May 25.—The following resolutions were unanimously passed at the regular meeting of the Missouri State Committee:

RESOLVED, That the Missouri State Committee, S. L. P., do condemn the bourgeois principles advocated, and tactics employed by the "Socialistic Co-operative Publishing Association" of New York, in reference to the articles in the "Volkszeitung," and the purloining of the Party mailing list for private purposes;

RESOLVED, That we do endorse the principles and tactics set forth in the Party papers, THE PEOPLE and "Vorwärts," as straightforward, and conservative of the interests of the Working Class.

LOUIS C. FRY,
State Organizer.

TRYING TO COVER UP THE SUN WITH A BLANKET.

Readers of THE PEOPLE are aware of the tussle that has for some time been going on in Pittsburgh, Kan., between the Socialists, who demand free speech, and the city authorities, who sought to repress free speech, that is to say, Socialist free speech.

These authorities did not object to Salvation Army "free speech." That was all right. The Salvationists preach contentment on earth, leaving the field free for the capitalist brigand; the Salvationists call the sufferers' attention away from where they are, and promise glories hereafter. Such "free speech" suits the brigand class of Capital to a "t."

But Socialist free speech is a horse of a different color, and that color suits not Megars. Capitalists. Socialist free speech calls attention to things on earth; it calls the attention of the sufferers to their rights, ay, to their duties; it makes of them men, not potters; it teaches them how to redress their wrongs; it teaches them to bring heaven down on earth, and begin the enjoyment of Paradise here. That sort of free speech has a hook to it. That sort of free speech interferes with the comforts of the class that wants to live on the backs of the workers and laughs in its sleeves at Paradise. That sort of free speech won't do.

Accordingly, after the Pittsburgh authorities had tried illegal arrests, brow-beating and roughness, and yet were worsted all along the line, they passed a new ordinance, intended exclusively to keep the Socialist speakers off the street on Sunday. This is the ordinance:

ORDINANCE No. 424.

An Ordinance to prohibit the use of the public streets of the city of Pittsburgh for certain purposes.

Section 1. That it shall be unlawful for any person to make or participate in the making of any political speech, argument or address; or to make or deliver any address or lecture on any social, political, mechanical, scientific or other secular subjects; or to engage in the advertisement of any medicine, article, invention, or of any goods, wares or merchandise; or to give or engage in the giving of any concert, or theatrical entertainment on any of the public streets, avenues, alleys, lanes, parks or other public grounds within the corporate limits of the city of Pittsburgh on the first day of the week commonly called Sunday.

Section 2. That any person who shall violate any of the provisions of section one of this ordinance, by doing any of the things therein prohibited, shall be fined in the sum of not less than five dollars nor more than one hundred dollars.

Section 3. This ordinance shall take effect and be in force from and after its passage, approval by the Mayor and publication in the Pittsburgh Daily Headlight.

Passed and approved this 12th day of April, A. D. 1899.

J. W. BREWER, Mayor.
Attest: E. W. ANDERSON,
City Clerk.

Thus again the cloak of Religion is used to conceal the Devil's hoofs and forked tail. But what will it avail? Suppressed on Sundays, the

Socialists will be all the more active on the other days of the week. And what is more, Capital, that grinds on Sundays as it does on other days, will, on Sundays, furnish material for all the more convincing Socialist addresses on Mondays.

The Pittsburgh municipal representatives of that thoroughly theistic capitalist class will find out that they have tried to cover up the sun with a blanket.

"SWEET ARE THE USES OF ADVERSITY," ETC.

The Nebraska "Grand Council United Commercial Travelers" held recently a session at Hastings, where they gave vent to their opinion on Trusts by passing the following resolution:

WHEREAS, The Grand Council of Nebraska has noticed with great distress and alarm the rapid formation of trusts now in progress in nearly all lines known to commercial transactions, resolved, that the time is at hand when commercial travelers, individually and collectively, must use every effort in their power to impede the progress and wipe out of existence formations that are taking form on situations for which we have spent years of time and toil to prepare ourselves and that we stand ready to assist to the best of our ability in any movement that will relieve us from the influence of that well-known tyrant, the Trust.

Sweet are the uses of adversity, which, like the toad, ugly and venomous, bears yet a precious jewel in his head. The Trust, meaning thereby the privately owned contrivance of production that bids defiance to the smaller concerns, is such a toad. It is ugly and venomous. Its economic power, coupled to the political power that it takes in hand, turns it into a despot, that pauperizes the people and turns them into abject slaves. Yet ugly and venomous as such a toad is, it does bear a precious jewel in its head.

The Trust-toad is but a developed toadpole. So long as the toad is not full-blown the poison that in him is remains concealed, and, being concealed, the correct means to his destruction remains hidden. Trust-toad is the developed germ of private ownership in the means of production. Until the germ is developed, illusions untold fill the popular mind. Among these illusions the leading one is that anyone, provided he be industrious, can secure economic independence and welfare. While this illusion prevails, the class, the only class that can remove the evil is incapacitated from fulfilling its mission. Its inability arises from the circumstance that it is cut up, divided,—not a unit. The class that is called upon to slay the monster and secure freedom must first realize its solidarity as Working Class, as Proletariat. But, in the minds of the members of large sections of the Proletariat, the word "Proletariat," the idea of "Working Class" is repulsive. The terms are to them identical with "common labor," with the "Great Unwashed." External appearances conceal the underlying economic kinship.

Thus clerks, Commercial Travelers, etc., still disdain the idea of belonging to the same class as the mechanic and the hod-carrier; and thus the ranks of the Proletariat remain broken. The Trust-toad, venomous though it is, bears on its head the precious jewel that it brings home to the "Washed" Proletariat its oneness with its "Unwashed" brother; it tears the illusions of the former to shreds; it opens their eyes,—at least starts to open them. But for the Trust, one might well despair of ever solidifying the Proletariat of all conditions; of bringing home to what might be called the "Clerk Class" the fact that, though it seems to work with its head, and, all other external appearances to the contrary notwithstanding, yet it is an exploited class, just as the manual worker, and that its class interests are one with these. But for the Trust, in short, economic slavery might remain a perpetuity, by reason of the gilding of the yoke that some wage slaves bear, preventing them from seeing the YOKE itself, and thus preventing that unity of their class that is the prerequisite to successful emancipatory work. The Trust aids in this clarifying and unifying process. Even if the Trust did nothing else, that is jewel enough on its head.

The Commercial Travelers are being tutored by the Trust; let Socialist literature hasten their graduation into the class-conscious, militant army of the Proletariat of this country that is marshalled under the banner of the Socialist Labor Party.

Municipalization à la Glasgow is given this black eye by the San Francisco, Cal., "Class Struggle":

Those so-called "Socialists" who tear their hair, because the S. L. P. sharply and firmly opposes the advocates of State Socialism, are the kind desired by the capitalist class in this country headed by such men as Hearst, Pinckney, Jones and Altgeld—would do well to consider the paragraph below from an article by Enrico Ferri, outlining a proposed law in Italy to apply to employees of State owned enterprises.

"The laborers and officials of the public industries—railroads, post-offices, etc., are entirely deprived of the rights of union and may not even enter into a union should they be in the service of a private individual."

"Even this is not enough. The laborers and officials in such industries shall be organized under the military law that insists on blind obedience with the severest penalties. A strike will be treated the same as rebellion in time of war, and the taking part

in a strike by the railroad, post-office and telegraph employees will be punished the same as desertion."

The Charlotte, N. C., "News" and the "Observer" of the same place are teeming with articles expressive of the consternation and rage of the whites of the place at the large and steady exodus of the negroes from the city and State. The unpunished butcheries of Wilmington are now bearing fruit. Labor-power, mainly colored in that region, is fleeing from capitalist brutality, that there masks itself with the mask of race-hatred; and the exodus is thinning out the Labor market. The white capitalists know what that means: it means a supply of Labor that threatens to fall below the demand, and that, accordingly, threatens to raise the price, i. e., the wages of the workers.

What to do? The "Southern" capitalist class has for years been scheming to re-subjugate and brow-beat Labor; disfranchisement and butcheries were thought to be adequate; but the unexpected result now confronting these worthies balks their plans. What to do? The next things to do is to pass laws that shall reduce the working class back to the state of serfs, and, if that won't suffice, the retrovolution will take us back down to chattel slavery.

A social system that has fulfilled its mission, and still outlives it, is bound to retrace its steps. Capitalism is at the end of its tether; unless overthrown, and the scepter is passed over to Socialism, barbarism must ensue.

The Holyoke, Mass., "Transcript," styles "bigoted" the below letter, which it is honest enough to print in full, and which was sent by Alderman Ruth, of the Socialist Labor Party, to the Secretary of a Committee who invited him to attend a reception to President McKinley:

I am in receipt of your invitation to take part in the reception of William McKinley, President of the United States. I fully realize that this invitation was extended to me as a courtesy on your part prompted by kindly feelings, and yet I cannot accept it without violating every principle for which I stand and become a hypocrite. To my mind William McKinley stands as chief representative of that vulgar and brutally vicious robber class which is now in control of the machinery of government, using for all it is worth to benefit their own class interests and in opposition to the interests of the common people, trampling under foot every principle of honor and justice he sacred for a century by a people whose master minds taught them that this country guarantees to every man the inalienable right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Under their régime this trustful and syndicate robber gang this noble principle is made a mockery, and the life of the people is becoming a drudgery and a burden. Under their régime the worship at the shrine of any high priest of the God Mammon or his class for whose destruction as a class I am devoting every energy of my life.

The "open parliament" column of the Sing Sing, N. Y., "Star of Hope" has a valuable contribution to the question, What makes the criminal? It is this:

From articles that have recently appeared in the public prints, I infer that the theories of Professor Lombroso and his school of Criminalologists are strongly influencing the opinion of those who are engaged in the study of crime and criminals. Although I cannot claim to know as much about some things, as Professor Lombroso, yet from an intimate knowledge and long acquaintance with the professional criminal, it seems to me that the theories emanating from his "gigantic intellect" are simply a spurious non-sense. The professional criminal is a man who, by reason of unvalued opportunities for observation and long experience, has been able to catch the pulse of the law, and to judge in this matter. When he is asked if he and his officers detected criminals by their appearance, he replied that an officer who had been in the penitentiary for too much of a theorist to be of any practical use. Indeed if criminals only had to contend with detectives acting on the theories of Lombroso, and if lives would be one of ease and the officials of a penitentiary or prison would have to enlist in the army of the unemployed.

Those who make a practical study of crime, and who have a sincere desire to cure this evil, will in my humble opinion, succeed in the exact ratio that they are not influenced by the writings of Lombroso and his school of Criminalologists, but by the facts of their own observation and practical investigation will prove, beyond doubt, that it is environment during childhood and youth that either makes or mars the man.

I hold primarily, that a man is what he eats. As a fellow-man, an ill-nourished man, no matter what the shape of his head or what angle his ears may be set, when the English Government sent the thieves from Newgate and the hardened criminals from the Virginia Colony it was, according to Lombroso, implanting on the shores of America the progeny of a race of criminals. These men and women were the offspring of criminal parents—these parents themselves being the progeny of criminals. And yet upon landing in the colony the great majority of these natural criminals became honest men and women. Was it the sea voyage that changed the shape of their heads and set their ears at the proper angle?

The Secretary of the United States and the halls of Congress have cheered with applause, excited by the eloquence of the men who were direct descendants of these "natural" criminals. Besides having fought and won, and the general who won this could, if he would, trace their pedigree to these same "natural" criminals. Why was it that Harrington, the great London pick-pocket, upon being transported to Australia, became an honest man and died very old, very rich, a magistrate, and universally respected? Why was it that the casket girls, the dumplings of the Paris female prisons, sent out to make wives for the colonists of Louisiana, became the mothers of a race of honest men and women? The nature of these "natural" criminals were transformed because their environment was changed.

For the first time in their lives they enjoyed perfect freedom, plenty of good food, pure air and sunshine in a new country where the competition was not so murderous as to drive the weak to the wall before the strong, and the honest and womanhood. In spite of the carefully wrought theories of Lombroso I am of the belief that men are entirely the creatures of environment and of what they eat.

A third 5,000 edition of the pamphlet "What Means This Strike?" is now out. Its large sale is a gratifying sign of the times, and it is an evidence of the class of literature that is most useful and, consequently, best called for.

Keep an eye on your wrapper. See when your subscription expires. Renew in time, it will prevent interruption in the mailing of the paper and facilitate work at the office.

ENTHUSIASM

Produced in France by Socialism and its Spokesmen.

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 30.—In these days of beginnings, these days when the Socialist Movement is in its formative stage in America, some of us probably experience discouragement from time to time at the lack of enthusiasm among the working class for the new régime. Each country has experienced the same period of lethargy, but also in each country has there grown a marvelous movement that is now the wonder of the world. It may be encouraging to read an account of the enthusiasm that Socialism is able to inspire elsewhere—in France, the country that we most resemble,—and thus be able to forecast some of the scenes that will enliven American cities in the near future.

About the middle of May, Jean Jaurès, Gérault-Richard, and one or two other Socialists left Paris for a little agitation trip through France. At Grenoble their reception was such as to temporarily well-nigh stop the business of the city, and in the evening the largest hall obtainable, with a seating capacity of six thousand, was packed to the doors. From Grenoble the route led to Marseille, and the special correspondent of the Paris "Petite République" sent the following graphic description of the entrance into the city:

MARSEILLE, May 12.—Jaurès, Gérault-Richard, and Zévaès, escorted by Deputy Mayor Coulet and Municipal Councillors Parguier and Quicli, of Marseille, left Grenoble this morning at forty minutes after eight.

The train reached Marseille at a quarter after six. Since half past five the approaches to the station had been invaded by a large crowd of Socialists. The interior of the station was filled with delegations from Socialist groups, unions, and other organizations from Marseille and the neighboring departments. When the train entered the station, a most remarkable enthusiasm prevailed, and the great crowd broke forth with cheers, and shouted till the station shook: "Vive Jaurès! Vive le Socialisme! Vive the Socialist Republic!"

After a quarter of an hour's rest in one of the waiting rooms, where the Secretaries and Presidents of the unions came to shake hands with the party, Jaurès, Gérault-Richard, de Pressensé, Psichari, and Zévaès started to leave the station. No sooner did they appear at the door than the crowd, which completely filled the court, began to cheer frantically. It was a forest of hats and canes and open hands waving above happy and joyous faces. And from one end of the court to the other nothing could be heard but the vast chorus of voices shouting: "Vive Jaurès! Vive the Socialist Republic!" But even that was not enough. At the moment when Jaurès and the others got into the carriages the Socialist band, under the direction of Citizen Noble, began to play the Carmagnole, and with the accents of this revolutionary hymn the enthusiasm redoubled. The police attempted to force a passage for the street cars, but found themselves powerless to do so. With this evidence of our strength these gentlemen took their cue and made no further attempt to interfere with the organization of the parade. The cortège began to move. At the head of it marched the Socialist Band playing the Carmagnole and the International, while the crowd applauded and took up the chorus. We marched slowly, very slowly, and as we advanced the people along the streets greeted us with cheers and then joined the procession. The tramways were black with men and women, and the trees looked like human grapevines, so filled were they with our enthusiastic friends. Again and yet again the air echoed with the cries: "Vive Jaurès! Vive Gérault-Richard! Vive the Socialist Republic!" And what a crowd there was all along the Avenue de la Gare and along the Boulevard du Nord! And the cheering never let up. At times it had the violence of a whirlwind. From the windows of the stores the men tossed their hats in the air and the women clapped their hands. Jaurès, standing up in the carriage, responded with a wave of his hand, and like a clarion call his voice rang out with the cry: "Vive the Socialist Republic!" and was lost in the cheers of the enthusiasts. And Gérault-Richard and Zévaès were joining in the chorus of the Carmagnole.

It took half an hour to get from the station to the hotel. From time to time we had to stop, so great was the crowd that wished to get close enough to the carriage to shake hands with Jaurès. On through the Boulevard Dugommier, and then what a sight! The Rue de Noailles and the Rue de Meilhan were black with people as far as the eye could reach. Here more than thirty omnibuses were brought to a standstill by the crowd. The coachmen and the passengers, however, made no complaint, for they, too, applauded and cried till the street itself fairly trembled: "Vive the Socialist Republic! Vive Jaurès! Vive Gérault-Richard! Vive de Pressensé! Vive Zévaès!" Not a discordant note to be heard.

When the immense cortège left the Rue de Noailles at the entrance to the Grand Hotel the ovation redoubled, and cheers for the orators were blended with the revolutionary verses of the Carmagnole. At the door of the Grand Hotel a compact crowd of women was massed waving baskets of flowers, palms, and superbly beautiful bouquets. They greeted ardently the champions of the Socialist Party. We entered the hall of the hotel, and there the presentations took place. The women and girls of the Tobacco Workers' Union presented Jaurès with two magnificent bouquets and welcomed him and his friends in the name of the women proletariat of Marseille. The women retailers presented the orator with a beautiful basket of flowers, and the market women gave a superb palm. Jaurès thanked them and said

with feeling that he was profoundly impressed by this manifestation of sympathy coming from the women workers, who were joining their brothers in misery and servitude in the common struggle for justice and the common fight for the overthrow of capitalist exploitation.

In front of the hotel more than fifteen thousand persons were massed, covering the Rue de Noailles, the end of the Rue de Meilhan, and the end of the Boulevard Dugommier. The demand for the orators could not be withstood. When they stepped out on the balcony they were met with a burst of applause that lasted several minutes. Then Jaurès, with his powerful and resonant voice, thanked the Socialist and working class population of the great city, which had affirmed with so much emphasis, with so much force and unanimity, its sentiments of justice and its revolutionary and Socialist convictions. And in closing he cried: "Vive Marseille! Vive the Socialist Republic!" Then de Pressensé spoke briefly. He declared that he only wished to second all that Jaurès had said, and that he, too, could but cry: "Vive Marseille! Vive the Socialist Republic!" For more than twenty minutes the orators were cheered by the crowd without the militarists, reactionists, or clericals giving the faintest intimation of their boasted strength.

The valiant Socialist population of Marseille has done justice to its calumniators, and the latter have learned that they are powerless before the unanimity of this magnificent demonstration. The impression caused by the reception given to Jaurès is profound. Marseille has proven this evening that she is ever one of the impregnable citadels of French Socialism.

To-morrow evening the great meeting is to be held.

Every time a French aristocrat gives a reception in Paris the news is cabled to every daily paper in America, but we look in vain for any cable messages giving an account of the marvelous work the French Socialists are doing. For this news we are compelled to rely on the Socialist press, and in the above translation an attempt has been made to give the account fresh from the wire.

J. P.

IN CLEVELAND.

CLEVELAND, Ohio, May 29.—A memorable session of the Central Labor Union of this place was held on the 17th instant.

The following resolution was introduced:

WHEREAS, General Merriam, in the full exercise of the duties dictated to him by the class interests of the class to which he belongs, has ordered the nine owners of the Coeur d'Alene District to discontinue employing union men, whence it is clearly evident that the organized Labor of America has nothing to expect but bullets and injunctions from the capitalist class of the land, whether the Republicans or Democrats happen to hold the reins of government;

WHEREAS, The Trades Unions declared through the A. F. of L. in favor of independent political action, a declaration which, however, means nothing else than to elect the so-called "best men" of the capitalist or middle class parties, who, after election cheat the workers by electing to the Senate the Hannans, Stephens and other representatives of the exploiting class, men who are responsible for the murders committed upon the workers in the Hocking Valley, Pittsburgh, Homestead, Coeur d'Alene, Butte, Chicago, Brooklyn, Cleveland, Hazleton, Pana, Virden, Wardner and the mining district; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Central Labor Union of Cleveland considers it the duty of every citizen, who prizes free speech and free press, and who considers desirable the removal of a social system that is responsible for the daily recurring murders, suicides, robberies, poverty, pauperism and misery, to sever all connection with the capitalist and middle class political parties, which uphold the present system of exploitation, and to give his vote to the Socialist Labor Party that has made the emancipation of the workmen of the earth its mission, through the international solidarity at the ballot box.

The resolution was read by Comrade Cowen amid profound silence; he then supported it with a few words. Thereupon the pure and simple broke loose and sought to scuttle the resolution by political manoeuvres. Points of order were raised; amendments were made; it was moved to refer the matter to the local unions; among others, a Deblists moved to strike the words "Socialist Labor Party," the latter motion being met with laughter.

The representatives of the cigarmakers were of the opinion that, personally, they had nothing against the resolution, but that they were bound to represent their organization which consisted of all sorts of people, attached to all sorts of political views.

Of similar kidney were all the arguments brought against the resolution. After all obstructions had been removed, a vote was taken, resulting in 30 for and 8 against.

The only delegate of the bakers who was present, and who is the overseer of the bakers' employment bureau of the place, an organization that consists almost exclusively of Germans among whom there are several Socialists, voted against the resolution. It is not risking too much to say that he will yet rue his conduct.

What the results are that may be expected from the adoption of this resolution, is a matter on which there may be different views. But this much is certain that the fakirs and pure and simple unions will try everything to bring on a rupture. It is evident that the political "infnoence," which they are in the habit of bartering off to the highest bidder at every election, must shrivel into nothingness under such circumstances. One needs not be a prophet to foresee how things will develop.

Conditions will arise that will sharpen the contrast between the "pure and simple" and the Socialist or progressive elements in such manner as it happened in those localities where the hopelessness of conducting Socialist propaganda in "pure and simple" unions had for its result the founding of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance.

CLEVELAND.

LECTURES.

JOSEPH MALLONEE and J. DUCH-ARNE, Sunday, June 4, Boston Common.

FRED W. LONG, "The Fourth Plank of the S. L. P. Platform and the Land Question," Saturday, June 3, Kensington Labor Lyceum, Philadelphia.

JOSEPH MALLONEE, Sunday, June 4, 8 p. m., 27 Hill Building, Union square, Somerville, Mass.



Uncle Sam & Brother Jonathan

Brother Jonathan—I have been doing some hard thinking.

Uncle Sam—You need it badly; hope it has done you good.

B. J.—Can't say it has. The more I think on this question of bonds and taxation the more mixed I get.

U. S.—And yet it is easy as rolling off a log.

B. J.—That may be. But I can't get rid of the idea that taxes are in the nature of a burden upon the people.

U. S.—All the people?

B. J.—Yes.

U. S.—I think I see your difficulty. You are preoccupied with middle class modes of thought. See here. We are living under the capitalist system of skinning, not under any of the systems of skinning that have previously prevailed. Do you think you have a clear idea of what the capitalist system means?

B. J.—To be frank, I don't think I have.

U. S.—To get a clear idea thereof it is best to contrast it with the previous, the feudal or landlord system.

B. J.—I think I understand that system.

U. S.—Don't be too hasty. Under the feudal system the vassal was allowed to operate as his own portion of the lord's land. The proceeds of that labor were his own. In payment for this privilege he had, however, to work one or two or more days for the lord exclusively on the lord's domain. Say, that the lord demanded two days' work; on those days the vassal's labor was the lord's. The vassal had the other five for himself. Under this system, you perceive, there is no attempt to cover up the fact that the lord appropriated some one else's work.

B. J.—None, whatever.

U. S.—Now suppose that beside the proceeds of those two days' work the lord wanted more.

B. J.—He would then demand of the vassal that he work for him three days.

U. S.—That was one way. Another and a quicker one of getting at the goods was to levy a tax on the vassal. Was not that taken out of the wealth that he produced when working for himself, which, therefore, belonged to him, and which, but for the tax he would keep and enjoy?

B. J.—Just so.

U. S.—Now turn to the capitalist system.

B. J.—He sinks his hands deeper into his pockets.

U. S.—Does the capitalist work at all?

B. J.—Not unless sponging be considered working.

U. S.—Yet he has it all?

B. J.—Every bit.

U. S.—Who works?

B. J.—The working class.

U. S.—Does the capitalist say to the wage worker: "Here is my factory; if you work two days for me, I shall let you work the other five for yourself?"

B. J.—Looks blank.

U. S.—Not much. He says: "Work six or seven days in the week and I shall give you \$5 or \$7." Do you not perceive that under this system the skinning process is concealed?

B. J.—Yes, open wide.

U. S.—Under this system it does not appear, as under the other, that the worker is propertyless. He imagines himself to be a property holder of some sort. He does not clearly perceive that what he is paid is about the least he can get. He does not notice that, in point of fact, he has been "taxed" dry of all that he produced as fast as he produced it. The old notion that taxation takes property away from him still lingers when he has no property left to him to be taxed off.

B. J.—(claps his hands)—I see!

U. S.—It follows that the matter of taxation concerns property that is stolen from the worker by the capitalist system before the worker ever gets hold of it. Do you catch on?

B. J.—I do. But another thing begins to puzzle me.

U. S.—Which?

B. J.—Why on earth do not these howling panacea peddlers teach the people these things?

U. S.—There is nothing puzzling about it. The secret is "laziness"—stupendous "laziness." These people won't read systematically; they have a notion they can evolve it all out of their inner consciousness, and, as that is by far easier than to study, they shoot off their mouths. I tell you, Jonathan, had I the time I would take these fellows one after another over my knees, right side up, and give them such a wallop as would concentrate in one minute all the spankings they ever received from their mothers.

B. J.—(splitting into his hands)—Right you are. I am ready to help you just as soon as you get the time. I'll hold these fellows, and you dust them.

Assassination of character is a favorite trick of, and, unfortunately, an easy thing to the capitalist class.

Through their press they can sling calumny around, thus add insult to injury. Thus did the French capitalist class to the Communists; and thus is the American capitalist class doing to the exploited miners of Coeur d'Alene.

Against these unfortunates, whose real, surely serious, offence is that, having the power, they did not long ago mop the floor at the ballot box with their exploiters; against these unfortunates, who have tolled so that the idle capitalist might live, the cry of "Molly Maguires" is now raised!

If there is any Molly Maguire conspiracy in Idaho it is in the capitalist camp.

